

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07

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FM AMCONSUL SURABAYA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1001

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SURABAYA 0180

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, ID

SUBJECT: ELECTION OUTLOOK IN EAST JAVA

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION JAKARTA INFO MEDAN APRIL 27 REPEATED  
FOR YOUR INFO:

QUOTE SURABAYA 0177 SECTION 1 OF 2

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, ID

SUBJECT: ELECTION OUTLOOK IN EAST JAVA

1. SUMMARY: THE CAMPAIGN IN EAST JAVA ENDED WITH LARGE BUT  
PEACEFUL PROCESSIONS. DESPITE NUMEROUS INCIDENTS, THE CAM-  
PAIGN HAS BEEN FAIRER AND LESS VIOLENT THAN IN 1971. ELEMENTS  
LIKELY TO CREATE DISTURBANCES DURING THE NEXT FEW DAYS ARE  
BEING KEPT IN CHECK THROUGH INTENSIVE EFFORTS OF PARTY  
LEADERS. GOLKAR HAS CLEARLY LOST SUPPORT IN THE PROVINCE  
SINCE THE CAMPAIGN BEGAN. WHILE MUCH OF THIS MAY BE RESTORED  
BY MANEUVERINGS DURING "TRANQUIL WEEK", GOLKAR SHOULD STILL  
FALL SHORT OF ITS EARLY OPTIMISTIC PREDICTIONS AND MAY BE  
LUCKY TO EQUAL ITS 1971 PERFORMANCE OF 55 PERCENT OF THE VOTE. BOTH  
THE PPP AND THE PDI LOOK STRONGER THAN ANTICIPATED. SOME  
OBSERVERS PREDICT A PPP VICTORY, BUT WE CONSIDER THIS UNLIKELY.

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END SUMMARY.

2. POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING IN EAST JAVA ENDED MIDNIGHT  
SUNDAY, AFTER A FINAL WEEK OF LARGE, NOISY, BUT PEACEFUL,  
CAMPAIGN PROCESSIONS AND RALLIES THROUGHOUT THE PROVINCE.  
SECURITY WAS EVIDENT, BUT NOT OVERWHELMING IN THE LAST  
WEEK AS IT HAS BEEN THROUGHOUT THE CAMPAIGN. BY MID-

AFTERNOON OF THE FIRST DAY OF "MINGGU TENANG" (TRANQUIL WEEK), ALL CAMPAIGN POSTERS HAD BEEN REMOVED FROM ROAD-SIDES, BUILDINGS, AND EVEN BECAKS. THE GENERAL CONSENSUS IS THAT THE CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN QUIETER AND FAIRER THAN THAT OF 1971. ON SUNDAY, THE ISLAMIC STRONG-HOLD OF SIDOARJO, SCENE OF ROCK-THROWING INCIDENT SEVERAL WEEKS AGO, WITNESSED A FINAL GOLKAR RALLY WHICH REPORTEDLY ATTRACTED HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF SPECTATORS. SECURITY FORCES WERE EVIDENT THROUGHOUT THE AREA, WITH ALL TRAFFIC IN THE CENTRAL MALANG-SURABAYA ARTERY BEING DETOURED AROUND SIDOARJO THROUGH THE COUNTRYSIDE. NO INCIDENTS WERE REPORTED. PRO-GOLKAR ELEMENTS HAVE TOLD CONSULATE OFFICERS THAT THE SUM OF VIOLENT INCIDENTS IN THE PROVINCE DURING THE CAMPAIGN WAS 400; PRO-PPP ELEMENTS SAY THEY HAVE A LIST OF 4000 INCIDENTS; BUT ALL AGREE THAT THESE WERE MINOR, AND THERE HAS BEEN NO ORGANIZED CAMPAIGN OF PHYSICAL COERCION DURING THE LAST MONTHS. THERE ARE CLAIMS THAT ABOUT 1000 PEOPLE (MAINLY PPP) HAVE BEEN DETAINED IN EAST JAVA IN CONNECTION WITH CAMPAIGN INCIDENTS, WITH AS MANY AS 200 STILL UNDER SOME FORM OF DETENTION.

3. AMONG THE INDONESIANS CONTACTED BY THE CONSULATE, IT IS GENERALLY AGREED THAT ON ELECTION DAY THE ISLAMIC PARTY (PPP) WILL CARRY THE CITIES AND GOLKAR WILL WIN IN THE VILLAGES. 80 PERCENT OF EAST JAVA'S VOTERS WILL CAST THEIR BALLOTS IN THE VILLAGES. A PROCEDURE THAT WILL HELP GOLKAR IS THE REQUIREMENT THAT VILLAGERS WHO WORK IN URBAN AREAS AS HOUSEHOLD SERVANTS, BECAK DRIVERS, AND STREET-HAWKERS RETURN TO THE VILLAGE TO VOTE. IN 1971, THESE  
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PEOPLE WERE PERMITTED TO CAST THEIR BALLOTS IN THE CITIES. PRESUMABLY, TRADITIONAL COMMUNITY AND FAMILY TIES WILL LEAD THEM TO RESPOND TO FORMAL LEADERSHIP PATTERNS OF VILLAGE AUTHORITY AND THEY WILL BE LESS SUSCEPTIBLE TO INFORMAL LEADERS WHO HAVE EMERGED IN THE RALLY ENVIRONMENT OF THE CAMPAIGN.

4. PDI IN EAST JAVA HAS NOT BEEN RECEIVING SUPPORT FROM GOLKAR, BUT HAS BEEN COOPERATING CLOSELY WITH PPP. A CLOSING JOINT PDI-PPP RALLY SUNDAY IN EAST SURABAYA, WITH PARTY SYMBOLS AND SPEAKERS FROM BOTH GROUPS SHARING THE SAME PLATFORM, CAUSED CONSERVATION AMONG THE GOLKAR LEADERSHIP. THE THEME OF THE RALLY WAS "IF YOU DON'T VOTE FOR POSITION NUMBER 1 ON THE BALLOT, VOTE POSITION NUMBER 3." THERE ARE GOOD INDICATIONS THAT PDI COULD RECEIVE LAST MINUTE SUPPORT FROM INTELLECTUALS AND STUDENTS AS WELL AS Korpri MEMBERS WHO RESENT BEING FORCED TO JOIN GOLKAR.

5. SUPPORT FOR GOLKAR IN EAST JAVA REACHED A ZENITH

THE WEEK BEFORE THE FORMAL CAMPAIGN BEGAN IN MID-FEBRUARY. WHILE THE PARTIES WERE FORBIDDEN TO CAMPAIGN, GOLKAR HAD SUCCEEDED IN FRAGMENTING TRADITIONAL ISLAMIC BLOCS OF SUPPORT. HOWEVER, WITH THE PROGRESS TA THE CAMPAIGN, GOLKAR HAS LOST ITS OVERWHELMING LEAD AND THE MOSLEM CALL TO THE FAITHFUL HAS PROVED EFFECTIVE. AGIL ALI, EDITOR OF MINGGUAN MAHASISWA, AND HIS STAFF CONDUCTED AN INFORMAL POLL OF 10 EAST JAVA VILLAGES TWO WEEKS AFTER THE CAMPAIGN BEGAN. AT THAT POINT, THEIR IMPRESSION WAS THAT 7 OF THE 10 VILLAGES WERE IN THE GOLKAR CAMP. THE JOURNALISTS RETURNED TO THE SAME TEN VILLAGES TWO WEEKS BEFORE THE END OF THE CAMPAIGN AND FOUND THAT 5 VILLAGES WOULD GO TO GOLKAR AND 5 TO PPP. ALI TOLD A CONSULATE OFFICER THAT IF THE ELECTION HAD TAKEN PLACE AT THE END OF THE SANCTIONED CAMPAIGN PERIOD, PPP WOULD HAVE WON 50 PERCENT OF THE EAST JAVA VOTE, HOWEVER, ACTIVITY DURING "MINGGU TENANG" (TRANQUIL WEEK) WILL CONSIDERABLY

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ALTER THESE PROSPECTS. ALI, PERHAPS OPTIMISTICALLY, BELIEVES THAT HOUSE-TO-HOUSE CANVASSING WILL RETURN GOLKAR'S MAJORITY TO THE "65 PERCENT LEVEL" HELD PRIOR TO THE CAMPAIGN. IN EAST JAVA, THIS HOUSE-TO-HOUSE CANVASSING IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE WIVES OF THE LOCAL OFFICIALS. VISITS ARE MADE DURING THE DAY AND AT THE END OF WOMEN'S DISCUSSION, A GIFT OF BETWEEN RP 400 AND RP 5000, DEPENDING ON THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE HOUSEHOLD, IS GIVEN BY THE VISITORS IN THE NAME OF THE SEMI-OFFICIAL WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION, PEMBINAAN KESEJAHTERAAN KELUARGA (DEVELOPMENT OF FAMILY PROSPERITY).

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07

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FM AMCONSUL SURABAYA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1002

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 SURABAYA 0180

6. ABDULLAH SIDIO, CHAIRMAN OF THE EAST JAVA PPP, TOLD CONSULATE OFFICER YESTERDAY THAT AFTER WITNESSING RALLIES AND PROCESSIONS OVER THE PAST WEEKS, HE IS HOPEFUL THAT PPP WILL WIN 50 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL VOTE, WITH 5-7 PERCENT FOR PDI, AND THE REMAINDER GOING TO GOLKAR. SIDIQ SAYS HE HAS BEEN HAVING TROUBLE KEEPING THE YOUNGER LEADERS OF HIS PARTY ORIENTED TOWARD THE GOALS OF THE PARTY AND AWAY FROM TEMPTATIONS TO RESPOND TO PROVOCATIONS BY THE OTHER SIDE, WHICH HE SAYS HAS BEEN LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR VIOLATION OF THE "THE RULES OF THE GAME." HE HAS BEEN HAVING DAILY MEETINGS WITH THE YOUNG CADRE AND REMAINS OPTIMISTIC THAT HE CAN KEEP THEM FROM REACTING EMOTIONALLY TO ANY PROVOCATION. SIDIQ SAYS THE MADURESE ARE HIS MAIN PROBLEM, ADDING THAT THE SUDANESE, THE ACHENESE, THE MAKASSARESE, AND MADURESE ARE ALIKE IN THAT THEY ARE EASILY EXCITED TO VIOLENCE AND ARE THE COMMUNAL GROUPS WHICH HAVE TO BE KEPT IN CHECK.

7. YOUNGER, MORE RADICAL ELEMENTS OF THE PPP HAVE TOLD US THEY EXPECT THAT THE ELECTION WILL BE MORE HONEST AND FAIR THAN IN 1971 BECAUSE THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN ABLE TO COMMUNICATE TO ALL LEVELS OF AUTHORITY ITS DETERMINATION TO MAKE IT SO. THESE YOUNGER PPP SUPPORTERS ARE OF THE OPINION THAT THE ELECTION FORM C-1A CONTROVERSY, FOLLOWING THE INTERIOR MINISTER'S DECISION AGAINST ALLOWING

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PARTY REPRESENTATIVES TO SIGN THE TALLY-SHEET IN EACH POLLING STATION, WILL NOT BE SIGNIFICANT UNLESS THE UNLIKELY HAPPENS AND GOLKAR SUFFERS AN ENORMOUS LOSS IN THE ELECTION. IF THAT SHOULD OCCUR, FORM C-1A MAY BE ALTERED BY THE CAMATS, BUPATIS, AND THEIR SUPERIORS TO MAINTAIN THE PREVAILING DOMESTIC POLITICAL BALANCE.

8. AFTER CONVERSATIONS WITH GOLKAR SUPPORTERS, PPP SUPPORTERS, JOURNALISTS, EXPATRIATE AND INDONESIAN BUSINESSMEN, THE CONSENSUS OF CONSULATE OFFICERS IS THAT EAST JAVA WILL REMAIN CALM AND PEACEFUL THROUGH ELECTION DAY, AND THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH. AT A MEETING LAST FRIDAY BETWEEN PPP AND PDI LEADERS, IT WAS DEFINITELY ESTABLISHED THAT NEITHER PARTY HAD PLANS FOR DISRUPTING THE ACTUAL VOTING PROCESS IN ANY WAY. ALTHOUGH TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES WILL BE JAMMED WITH VOTERS TO AND FROM THEIR VILLAGES, SECURITY WILL BE SUFFICIENT TO CONTAIN ANY OUTBREAK OF LAST MINUTE PARTISAN WRANGLING. THERE HAS BEEN SPECULATION THAT, IN THE MONTHS FOLLOWING,

BUILT-UP RESENTMENTS GROWING OUT OF INTEMPERATE CAMPAIGN  
RHETORIC WILL BE RELEASED THROUGHT SPORADIC, ISOLATED ACTS  
OF REVENGE. THE EXTENT TO WHICH THIS WILL BE THE CASE  
DEPENDS ON POST-ELECTION SENTIMENTS OF ALL PARTICIPANTS  
REGARDING THE FAIRNESS OF THE ELECTION AND THE EQUITY  
OF THE OUTCOME.

9. THIS CABLE IS A COMPOSITION OF VIEWS OF ALL CONCERNED  
OFFICERS HERE.  
BROWER UNQUOTE  
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## Message Attributes

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